3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

out and the roads empty of people, when behind their barred gates the people go through a day of quietness intended to convey to whatever malevolent forces may lurk without that the village is deserted and that no one is at home.

If a death or other unfortunate event has rendered the village unclean when the appointed day of a festival falls due, the festival is passed over, and the gods are not invited to come down until the appointed day comes around again 210 days later. However, at any time when the village or the individual is not in a state of uncleanness, it is possible to enter the temple to address special prayers and to offer special offerings. Although the temple priest, the *pemangkoe*, may be asked to dedicate such offerings, his services are not absolutely necessary, and the prayers and offerings may be given directly to the gods by the individual. The gods are considered in some sense present in their temples, or at least not too far away for communication to be established with them, although they are not at the moment actually inhabiting their shrines.

The *odalan* or temple festival is an occasion on which the people of the village, having invited the gods to this temporary residence for a visit of three days' duration, prepare the house for them and offer them a religious service which symbolizes both refreshment and entertainment. To the villagers themselves it is a true festival, a celebration, a religious holiday. For three days before the event the men and women of each household, divided into groups, make preparations. If, for example, the women are called to the temple during the morning hours to sit weaving from fresh palm-leaf the thousands of offering containers in different shapes and sizes, the men are allowed to remain at home. Then the wooden slit-gong sounds, and from every side the men assemble, to put up temporary frames and altars to receive the offerings, to erect the decorative poles (*penjors*) of bamboo decked with palm-leaf, and to carry out, according to their skill, any repairs to the roofs of the pavilions or to the walls of the courts, of which the temple may have stood in need for many months. While the men work, the women are free to return to their households.

Each family, or better, household-unit, has allotted to it an equal share in the contributions necessary for the offerings: thus, two coconuts, a measure and a half of rice, three eggs, and about 15 cents in cash[3] may be the contribution levied on each of 500 households. If a

[3] These data were collected during the 1930s, when, under the Dutch Administration, the currency in use was the *ringgit*, a silver coin of about the size and value of an American silver dollar, and worth two and one-half *roepiah*, equivalent to a Dutch florin. The *roepiah* again was subdivided into 25 cent and 10 cent pieces, called *s'talen* (or *s'tali*) and *a-ketip* respectively. Chinese cash were current at about 170 to 185 to the "string," exchanged for the Dutch 25 cent piece. *Tali*

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

[782] [651] man happens to have on his land a surplus of bamboo, and to be short of coconuts or rice, he can arrange with the keeper of the accounts to substitute this commodity to the value of his contribution. A record is [212] kept, scratched upon a leaf of *tal* palm, of all contributions and defaults, both in work and in kind, and cumulative fines are imposed upon all [688] who do not do their share. The temple as a rule possesses some funds, chiefly profits from the temple lands (*labaan*) which are under the [993] custody of the priest guardian, or *pemangkoe*. He makes a living from them, but all members of the temple have an equal share in the produce over and above his portion. If the produce has been divided and distributed among them earlier in the season, they are required to make up in money or in kind the value of their shares, as the needs of the temple festival have first claim upon these riches.

793 The temple priests who are the guardians of these temples have not studied as have the Brahmana high priests, the *pedanda*, who are often [54A] scholars and learned men. The temple priest may be drawn from any caste, Brahmana, Ksatrya, Vesya, or Soedra (Sudra), depending upon the population and caste distribution in the various villages. They are for the most part Soedra, and their office is not a particularly high one, not, for example, of anything like the importance of that of the *klian dèsa*, head, or literally, elder, of the village. They possess written instructions for the giving of offerings, the prayers, and the course the 212 festival is to follow. These contain long minutely specified listings of the [191] offerings for the festival and of the prayers, in the "old language," known as *kawi*, in the current High Balinese, and some few fragments [197] of corrupt but still recognizable verses in Sanskrit. Many of these appear to be taken from the Vedas, and the term used in Bali for the high priest's praying is the verbal noun formed from the root *veda*, *meweda*. To these untutored temple priests the meaning of the Sanskrit fragments is frequently lost, and they content themselves with the repetition of them and the copying out of the texts every generation or so when the palm-leaf books begin to wear out. For this reason the errors which have crept into the versions preserved by the temple priests are very numerous, words and sometimes whole lines are lost, and phonetic changes occur which do not follow any rule, but are merely accidental and influenced to some extent by the pronunciation of similar words (often with quite different meanings) in current Balinese. It is a matter of some amazement to contemporary Sanskrit scholars that they are able today to identify any of the sacred texts which have been so care-

[436] [936] means string, in Sanskrit as well, and from this term the word *s'tali*, meaning one string, is derived. In the prescriptions for offerings written on *lontar* (*tal*) palm the amount of money was always given in Chinese cash, as 33, 66, etc., but during the years of our study the Dutch silver coins could be substituted.

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

it is assumed, antedates the introduction of the Hindu four caste system. The three top castes of the Hinduistic system, Brahmana, Satrya, and Vesya, maintain a feudal order of their own in the areas which they inhabit, referring to the rest of the population as *djaba*, outsiders.[1] At the time of the Dutch conquest in 1906 Bali was ruled by seven kings, called *radja* or *dalem*, who made war upon each other or formed alliances, whichever seemed more to their interest.

Up until the time of the Japanese conquest, in 1942, there had been almost no talk of the abolition of caste, and this only in the towns, Boeleleng and Den Pasar, where Javanese, Arabs, so called "Bombay" merchants, and the Chinese formed a mixed population. Today, contemporaneously with the friction in political circles centering in Java, there appears to carry through a certain continuity in the role of caste and its significance in the society. At the present time the head of the eastern division of the government, whose seat is in Macassar, Celebes, is a Balinese of the very highest princely rank, a *tjokorda;* a man who was educated in Holland, speaks Dutch and English perfectly, has a French wife, and was before the war the representative for Bali at the people's parliament, the *Volksraad*, at Batavia, Java.

The history of the relations of Bali with Java, and through Java with the rest of Indonesia, can be summed up as follows.

11*th century*. The century is marked by the first recorded intermarriage of the royal houses of Java and Bali. King Erlangga, famed in legend, was the son of a Javanese princess and a Balinese *radja*. Through his mother he inherited the Javanese kingdom of Kadiri, which afterward split. Sivaite and Buddhist priesthoods were strong at this time, and, according to legend, the holy men were able to cross over the narrow straits between Java and Bali "riding on a leaf." However this may be, it is clear that communications were established at this time.

14*th century*. The great kingdom of Madjapahit in Java included Bali. When this kingdom fell before the advance of the Mohammedans, refugees from the top level of the Javanese social structure crossed over to Bali. Priests, princes, courtiers, skilled artisans, artists, musicians, dancers, all the literate and the wise who could be saved, escaped to Bali and set up there the stronghold of Hinduism which has resisted Islamization and Christianization down to the present day. In Bali "Madjapahit" is a word to conjure with; everything which is traditionally held in high esteem is referred to as Madjapahit, or

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Majapahit, as the corruption has it. Balinese trace their ancestry to Madjapahit as Americans do to the Pilgrim Fathers. Thousands of temples have shrines named Madjapahit, usually ornamented with the carved head of a deer. Perhaps 90 per cent of the Balinese who give offerings at these temples do not know what the name stands for in historical fact.

14th century to 1906. This was a period of little interchange between Java, a Mohammedanized country, and Bali, which remained Hinduistic. Some trade relations were maintained, chiefly through the intermediacy of the Chinese. All currency in Bali was Chinese cash. Bali, a rich rice producing country, traded its surplus rice to the Chinese for gold, which was in turn beaten up to make golden flowers for the headdresses of children and gold leaf ornamentation for orchestral instruments and ceremonial objects. The "culture system" by which the colonials attempted to modify the agricultural output of Java was not introduced in Bali. With the exception of a small Dutch garrison maintained in the north of the island, Bali was free of European influence, virtually unsubjugated.

1906 *to* 1908. The Dutch, making an incident of the looting of a Chinese vessel which was wrecked on the south shore, landed troops in order to bring the island under control. It was at this time that the famous encounter took place, in which a number of the nobility and their followers marched out in the face of Dutch guns and committed mass suicide, turning their sacred krisses upon themselves. Of the seven ruling kings in Bali, two who resisted were deposed, but close relatives of theirs were installed as regents, so that the continuity of the hereditary ruling line in the several kingdoms was not broken. *Radjas* who capitulated retained their rank, also with the status of regents. Indirect rule was set up, the Dutch official rule linking the island with the administrative center at Batavia, Java.

1908 *to* 1942. Though Bali was now a part of the Netherlands Indies' *Binnenland Bestuur* (Interior Administration), the feeling between Java and Bali continued rather distant. Balinese tended even towards the end of this period, in the 1930's, to look upon Javanese with suspicion. Probably the greatest chasm between these neighboring peoples was the difference in food habits laid down in the differing religions. The Javanese did not eat pig, a favorite Balinese food and one of the chief export products. Dutch ships carrying Balinese pigs

[1] Belo, 1936, p. 12.

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for export sailed to Singapore, bypassing Java, because of the Moslem pig scruple. Javanese, on the other hand, tended to look on the Balinese as boors, a people with a distantly related heritage which might have allowed them to become as "refined" (*aloes*) as the Javanese, but who somehow missed. This sense of distance remained although Balinese students who reached the higher educational levels under the school system were transferred to Java to pursue their studies in normal and professional schools. An *Anak Bali* (Balinese) was still very different from an *Anak Djawa* (Javanese) though they had learned to speak a common language and read the same books—about as different as a Frenchman from an Italian, though not as different as a Frenchman from a German. At a conference on Balinese culture arranged by the Java Institute in 1937, Javanese scholars and princes looked with mild interest and amusement for the first time at Balinese versions of the same legends and themes the Javanese perform, while the Balinese comment was "the Javanese style is so slow we go to sleep."

February 21, 1942 *to March* 2, 1946. During the period of the invasion and occupation by Japanese forces, Balinese resources were depleted to supply Japanese troops; food, clothing, and building materials became very scarce. Japanese propaganda fed in at this time stressed the "Asia for the Asiatics" theme in an attempt to consolidate the feeling of Balinese, Javanese, and other Indonesians to bring them together in a revolt against European influence. It appears that only a few of the younger Balinese in the urban centers found this propaganda to their taste, while the majority tended to consider any proposed Javanization an affront to their religion and an attempt to abolish the caste system about which their whole real and symbolic life is structured. In other words, Balinese responded to Japanese proselyting as they had in former years to any attempts to Mohammedanize or Christianize them, by a reiteration of their desire to be themselves and to preserve their own way of life. Nonetheless, political unrest stirred up at this time created, with the introduction of political factions, a closer tie with Java than had been present under the more peaceable Netherlands' rule.

1946 *to* 1948. After an initial period of chaos, during which the Japanese authorities were no longer present and new authorities had not yet been established, political strife was at its peak, and the action of the young Republican leaders in Java carried reverberations to Bali. To remove the eastern islands from the political impasse in which divided Java found itself, the Dutch forged a new administrative

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

center in the island of Celebes, setting up the Balinese prince, Tjokorda Soekawati, at its head and giving him the most skillful and highly trained administrative advisers as assistants. Under this system the complex society of Bali continues to function more or less unchanged, the village autonomy is maintained, the customary law carries through from the past.

Land Ownership. The basic unit of Balinese society, the village unit, has a number of forms, each of which may be referred to a period of history at which, we assume, the form as we find it today was common. The village communities fall into three main types.[3]

1. The old style villages, known as *Bali Aga* villages, show to a greater or less extent Old Indonesian patterns of social organization. Here there is no caste. Generally there is a dual organization, headed by old men. Arrangements for superannuation are provided for in the *adat* (customary law). These villages, comparatively small, follow the pattern most usual for a community of any size or type in Bali: a central compact village divided into individual house courts, and beyond the village outlying fields which are worked by the individual families.

2. In other village communities one or more of the three upper castes are represented, while the majority of the population is casteless. The proportion may run 2 or 3 per cent people with caste to 98 or 97 per cent casteless, or it may be as much as 20 or 30 per cent composed of high caste families, with correspondingly fewer of the ordinary, casteless Balinese making up the total. The ranking village members may be of Brahmana, Satrya, or Vesya caste. The casteless refer to themselves as *Anak Bali* (Balinese people) and as "followers" or "subjects" of the dominant families.

3. Towns are made up of people of caste, the casteless, and foreigners. Generally a town is the capital of the district, seat of the regional government and the palace of the local prince. It is distinguished from the usual village by a street of foreign owned shops and a larger, better supplied market.

It is customary to subdivide communities of all three of these types into *bandjars*, equivalent to wards in American cities or to the Mexican *barrios*. These *bandjars* are spatial divisions, each with a character and a name of its own. They are held together rather loosely as to social organization but linked with many kinship ties, religious ties (being members of the same village temple, for example) and very often by dramatic, dancing, and

[3] For a discussion of the importance of the village community in the whole Indonesian area see *Adat Law in Indonesia* by B. ter Haar edited with an introduction by E. Adamson Hoebel and A. Arthur Schiller.

Flores OF9
Javanese OE5
Bali OF7
Lombok OF12
Gorontolo OG4

[414 cont.]

important festivals and the ancestors.

Finally, we wish to mention, as examples of the orderly village arrangement in the more easterly areas of the archipelago, the villages of the Ngada (central Flores), which are notable for their regularity. The houses stand in strict alignment around a square; on sloping terrain, the square has several terraces which are carefully tended. Pigs are kept out by means of a bamboo fence along the front of the houses. Clumps of bamboo are found around the village, while the rice and maize granaries are built outside the villages. Furthermore, in every village there are one or more copies of the nadoe and the baka, dedicated to, or the symbol of, respectively, the ancestral father and the ancestral mother of a noi, or family [familie] unit.

The nadoe is a heavy wooden pole, often artistically worked, ending in a fork at the top, with a circular excavation between the prongs, and covered with a cone-shaped alang roof. The baka is a little house, commonly made of finely worked planks and like the ordinary house in form, but usually without the front veranda. The villages here, too, cover only a small area, since practically nothing is planted inside the village.

The third type of village in the archipelago is completely different and is found, as a rule, in the more highly developed areas where wars are far in the past, and hence the village no longer needs to be a complex of dwellings huddled together as closely as possible and surrounded by walls and barricades. An outstanding example of this type of village is the Javanese dèsa. Every house is surrounded by a yard, which in many cases is quite large, where all kinds of fruit trees and other crops are planted, so that such a "village cluster," as Veth calls it, [415] rises out of the sawah sea like a kind of island. Even though the number of inhabitants may be small, such a Javanese dèsa covers quite a large area.

Similar villages are found on Bali and Lombok, in central Sumatra, among the Minahasa (northeastern Celebes), and, more recently, under the influence of the Government and the

Minangkabau OD10
Java OE1

Batak OD5
Bali OF7
Lombok OF12
Gorontalo OG4
Atjehnese OD4

G [415 cont.]
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B2 Christian missions, to an ever greater extent in the areas where
361 formerly the village-fortress was customary. Thus, the native
636 village, as far as external arrangement is concerned, is develop-
797 ing more or less in the same direction as ours did in former times when the walled cities with their narrow and twisting streets were dismantled and rebuilt over a much larger area.

I Village Council House. In nearly all areas of the East Indies
344 Archipelago, besides the private houses there is also a small structure that has a public character and is used for transacting village affairs, among other things. Where the whole village actually consists of one large house, for example, among the Dajak of central Borneo, there is no special structure for the council meetings, and they are held in the communal front or central gallery.

A In Atjeh villages there is the meunasah, which serves as the
344 village prayer house, but also as the village gathering place and
Bt quarters for the unmarried adult men of the village and strangers.
344 Among the Karo-Batak the village council house is called djamboer, in Toba sopo, and in Simeloengoen (east of Lake Toba) balei. It has a very high, saddle-shaped roof, under which the rice reserves of the village are stored. It is also used as sleeping quarters for the unmarried adult youths and for strangers passing through. In the evenings it is a kind of village club where the news of the day is exchanged, but it is also the place where the various village interests are discussed.

M The name balai (balei) is also used in the Minangkabau lands,
344 where the building is used mainly as the village meeting house. The village meeting house is called balé in Palembang.

J- On western Java, too, especially in the Tjirebon (Cheribon)
344 Residency, the name balé dèsa is used for [416] the special structure for village gatherings, while on central and eastern Java village gatherings are generally held in the house of the village chief. In the villages in the last-named areas, however, there are public structures, called langgar, that are used chiefly for the communal salat and for elementary Mohammedan religious instruction, but strangers are housed in them as well.

Ternate ON1c
New Guinea OJ1
Bali OF7

T [381 cont.]
651 one to four vessels, kora-kora, completely fitted out, armed, and
[702] manned by 30 to 40 men. Moreover, some districts (not all) must keep the sultan supplied with the so-called manusia ratus, that is, 100 adult men, who work only for their maintenance and are relieved from time to time. A few other districts must annually deliver to the sultan a certain quantity of rice, sometimes receiving a small compensation in return. Besides this, there are other obligations which we shall leave unmentioned.

T NG 636 651 We can be brief about the administration of the other islands that belong to the territories of Ternate, Tidore, or Batjan. In the main it is the same as that on Halmahera. As far as New Guinea is concerned, it belongs to the territory of the Sultan of Tidore, at least the north and the northwest coasts. The authority of the Sultan of Tidore is in large part fictive, and even where it is best established it is limited to levying an annual [382] tribute, to bringing in dried skins of paradise birds, trepang, and tortoise shell.

NG 223 226

B 101 643 642 636 The principal states on the Lesser Sunda Islands, primarily on Bali, are Hindu states. There are nine: Boeleleng, Djembrana, Karangasem, Kloenkoeng, Gijanjar, generally called Djanjar, Bangli, Badoeng, Mengoewi, and Tabanan. Each of these states, with the exception of Boeleleng and Djembrana, is governed by its own sovereign. By the treaties concluded with the sovereigns in 1849, after the third Bali expedition, they acknowledged that their states are a part of the Netherlands East Indies and, as such, are subordinate to the supremacy of the Netherlands State. Therefore, they have to fly a Netherlands flag above their own on land and sea and the Government's confirmation is required at their enthronement. Otherwise, these sovereigns are entirely free in their administration. Boeleleng and Djembrana are an exception to this. Boeleleng in 1854 and Djembrana in 1856 were withdrawn from the government of their sovereigns and put directly under our authority.

B 643 564 Finally, the government of the states that are still independent must not be omitted. The sovereign should actually be

B [383 cont.]
651/ leaving sons, as well as the widows and daughters who belonged
428 to the estate, who were sold as slaves or hired out as servants;
an annual land tax (padjăg) levied on rice fields; the proceeds
from the crown lands, in large part sawahs, which were worked
by the people for two-thirds of the proceeds; duties on the im-
B portation and exportation of products; harbor dues; the proceeds
● 636 from salvage rights or wreckage (actually nothing but beach-
combing), tawan karau. This is forbidden by the treaty of 1849,
which likewise generally restricted the sovereigns' arbitrariness
to some extent.

L Lombok. The true inhabitants of Lombok are called
101 Sasak. Besides the Sasak, there are many Balinese on this island,
175 especially in the west. They are the actual rulers. The course
648 of this Balinese domination is briefly as follows. Formerly the
636 Sasak were the only inhabitants of the island, which was divided
[384] into various, independent small states, each having its own
sovereign and often at war with one another. About a century
ago, the sovereign of one of these small states, the one of Praja,
hard pressed by his neighbors, called for the help of the sover-
eign of Karangassem on Bali. He came to Lombok with an army
and subjugated not only the enemies of Praja, but this state, too,
and thus became the founder of a Balinese state on Lombok. The
power of the Balinese on Lombok soon expanded, and there
gradually arose four Balinese states. In 1824, there was some
L discord between these four states, ending in the subjugation of
636 all of them by the sovereign of Mataram. Since then he has been
the absolute monarch of all of Lombok by right of conquest. The
government is about the same as the government on Bali, and
L here, too, the sovereign's authority is quite absolute. The title
643 of the sovereign is anak-agung. As we have seen, the sovereign
of Kloengkoeng on Bali exercises some supremacy over the other
Balinese states. The sovereign of Mataram on Lombok also recog-
L nizes this supremacy. The country is divided into a number of
634 districts, which are all governed by Balinese notables with the
title of Radja.

Bali OF7
Lombok OF12

Javanese OE5
Borneo OC1
Makassar OG6
Ternate OH16
Batjan OH7

Lm
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[450 cont.]

What we have said applies only to those regions where we exercise direct authority. In the lands that retained self-government, the populace continues to enjoy its own administration of justice. This is the case in Surakarta and Djokjakarta on Java, in the states on Borneo's east coast, in the Makassarese and Buginese states, in the states of Ternate, Tidore, and Bachan, on Bali, Lombok, etc. In all these lands the provisions of the adat and the prescriptions of Islam are applied throughout, not only in civil but also in criminal cases. The Netherlands Indies Government exerts influence only to the extent of opposing the application of cruel and mutilating punishments. In some courts it has even become the rule to impose only the punishments that are specified in the criminal code of law for natives. Moreover, the provision that the death penalty may not be executed without the consent of the Governor General and places of exile are to be designated by the Government is often applied. Trial by ordeal is also often prohibited. Finally, here and there a local official is authorized to attend the sessions of the court, to direct its activities, and to give advice. Although we thus see that even in the [451] lands that have retained self-government the sphere of native law has become more and more restricted by the application of European principles of justice, it is different in those regions that belong to us only in name and have remained wholly or largely outside our influence, such as in the interior of Sumatra, Borneo, and Celebes and on New Guinea, not to mention the smaller islands. In the sphere of the administration of justice the ancestral institutions are still found unchanged here, and we shall now discuss them.

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b. Law of Vengeance

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We have just used the word composition. By this is to be understood the milder form of the civil law of vengeance,